

Message Text

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XMT AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 208060

DAKAR POUCH BANJUL, PARIS FOR NESCO, ROME FOR FAO

FOLLOWING REPEAT LAGOS 9875 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN
DAR ES SALAAM LONDON LUSAKA GABORONE MAPUTO NAIROBI OTTAWA
PARIS PRETORIA USNATO USUN NEW YORK 27 AUG 77

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 9875

USAKA FOR AMB YOUNG'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, PORG, NI, SF, US

SUBJECT: LAGOS CONFERENCE: WRAP-UP

1. SUMMARY: NEARLY ALL PARTICIPANTS AT LAGOS LEFT TOWN ABLE TO CALL
CONFERENCE A SUCCESS -- A RESULT NOT AT ALL INEVITABLE CONSIDER-
ING THE COMPLEX MIS OF FORCES HERE. FOR AFRICANS IN GENERAL,
FACT THAT 102 NATIONS, DOZENS OF NGOS AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS
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SPENT FIVE DAYS IN AN AFRICAN CAPITAL IN CONSTRUCTIVE SEARCH FOR
SOLUTIONS FOR APARTHEID WAS A SOLID GAIN IN THEIR COMMON EFFORT
TO COMBAT RACISM ON THE CONTINENT.
RADICALS AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAD CHANCE TO PRESENT THEIR
VIEWS BEFORE THE CAMERAS, EVEN IF THROTTLED BY MODERATES WHEN IT
COUNTED. MODERATES SUCCESSFULLY KEPT CONFERENCE FROM TURNING
INTO RHETORICAL FREE-FOR-ALL AND MAINTAINED FOCUS, AT
LEASE IN PLENARY SESSIONS, ON ATTEMPTS TO DEFEND PRACTICAL
SOLUTIONS. MODERATES CLEARLY SAW CONFERENCE AS A VEHICLE FOR
RAISING CONSCIOUSNESS IN WESTERN NATIONS, BOTH WITH REGARD TO
THE NATURE OF APARTHEID AND TO THE COMPLEX MILITARY, POLITICAL
AND ECONOMIC LINKAGES MODERATES SEE AS THE MAIN PREP OF THE
VORSTER REGIME. EASTERN BLOC COUNTRIES CAME WITHOUT EXPECTATIONS
OF PROPAGANDA COUPS--AND THOSE EXPECTATIONS WERE JUSTIFIED.
CHINESE CAME TO BLAST AWAY AT SOVIETS AND DID SO. WHILE PLO,
LIBYANS AND IRAQIS DOUBTLESS LEFT HIGHLY DISAPPOINTED, OTHER
ARABS PROBABLY DEPARTED RESIGNED TO CONFERENCE'S REFUSAL
EFFECTIVELY TO LINK ZIONISM WITH APARTHEID. EUROPEANS TOOK
STEADY IF GENERALLY POLITE PASTING OVER ARMS, ECONOMIC AND
NUCLEAR LINKS TO SOUTH AFRICA, BUT NUCLEAR ISSUE FADED AND
EUROPEANS UNDOUBTEDLY FELT THEY HAD GOTTEN OFF BETTER THAN COULD
HAVE BEEN EXPECTED. CONFERENCE WAS A CLEAR SUCCESS FOR NIGERIAN
HOSTS. THEY HAD COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO A MODERATE, CONSTRUC-
TIVE OUTCOME AND BY SKILL, TOUGHNESS AND HARD WORK ACHIEVED
THEIR GOAL. ASTUTE NIGERIAN BALANCING EARNED THEM NEW RESPECT
BEFORE BOTH RADICALS AND MODERATES. CONFERENCE UNEQUIVOCALLY
MOVED NIGERIA UP ANOTHER RUNG AS A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH IN

AFRICA AND THE WORLD. US PARTICIPATION AT CONFERENCE MADE EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TOWARD SUSTAINING OUR CURRENT POLICY INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CONFERENCE BROUGHT US ENHANCED POSITION IN NIGERIA, NO UNPLEASANT SURPRISES. MAJOR ANTICIPATED PITFALLS IN CONFERENCE EITHER DID NOT MATERIALIZE OR WERE SATISFACTORILY NEGOTIATED. END SUMMARY

2. WORLD CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID, HELD IN LAGOS AUGUST 22-26, CLOSED ON SUCCESSFUL NOTE AS CONFERENCE DECLARATION. CONFIDENTIAL

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TION WAS ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS, ALBEIT WITH EIGHT PARTICIPANTS (INCLUDING US) EXPRESSING SPECIFIC RESERVATIONS. STEERING COMMITTEE, LED BY NIGERIAN CHAIRMAN HARRIMAN AND TANZANIAN CO-CHAIRMAN SALIM, PRODUCED GENUINE COMPROMISE DOCUMENT WHICH INEVITABLY, FULLY PLEASED NEITHER RADICAL NOR WESTERN NATIONS. US RESERVATIONS STEMMED FROM DECLARATION CALLS FOR CHAPTER VII MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, UNIVERSAL CUTOFF OF ALL NUCLEAR RELATIONSHIPS, AND CESSATION OF INVESTMENTS AND LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA IN TERMS AMOUNTING TO REQUEST FOR CHAPTER VII ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

. WE DO NOT HAVE EXACT NUMBER OF NATIONS, GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS WHO ATTENDED THIS UN SPONSORED CONFERENCE. IN ANY A SEEMINGLY INTERMINABLE STRING OF SPEAKERS EXPOUNDED UPON PRINCIPAL THEME OF CONFERENCE--I.E., THAT HEINOUS INSTITUTION OF APARTHEID WAS STILL BEING SUPPORTED BY COOPERATIVE LINKS FROM WESTERN NATIONS AND MNCS AND THAT THOSE LINKS SHOULD BE BROKEN. MOST SPEAKERS EITHER CALLED FOR ARMED STRUGGLE OR RELUCTANTLY ENDORSED ITS USE.

4. IN ADDITION TO GENERALLY MODERATE TONE OF CONFERENCE THERE WERE SEVERAL OTHER PLUSSES. WESTERN COUNTRIES WERE GRATIFIED THERE WAS NO SERIOUS ATTEMPT, EVEN ON PART OF ARABS, TO LINK ZIONISM WITH APARTHEID. SEVERAL ARAB SPEAKERS MENTIONED THE SUBJECT IN COURSE OF THEIR ADDRESSES BUT AROUSED LITTLE INTEREST AMONG THE DELEGATIONS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT ARAB ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE SOME ZIONISM-RACISM LANGUAGE IN CONFERENCE DECLARATION WAS FIRMLY SQUELCHED BY NIGERIANS (AS THEY HAD EARLIER INFORMED US THEY WOULD DO)

ARAB CAUCUS THEN ABANDONED THE ATTEMPT, OSTENSIBLY ON GROUND THAT 1978 CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND
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RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WOULD OFFER BETTER FORUM.

5. WESTERN COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN NUCLEAR FIELD ALSO CAME UP BUT, EVEN WITH DAMNING SPEECHES BY MCBRIDE AND MINTY,

MATTER DID NOT PROVOKE CHAIN REACTION AND SOON FADED. NO SERIOUS ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO LINK ISRAEL TO PRETORIA'S NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT. FRG AND FRANCE RECEIVED GENERALLY HARSHER TREATMENT ON THIS SUBJECT THAN DID US. IN THIS RESPECT PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRESS STATEMENTS ON US APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA ON NUCLEAR MATTER WERE MOST HELPFUL. ALTHOUGH TEXT PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS WERE NOT DISTRIBUTED AT CONFERENCE, THEIR SUBSTANCE BECAME WIDELY KNOWN.

6. THAT US, WHOSE POSITION LACKED THE NEW INITIATIVES HOPED FOR BY MANY AFRICAN DELEGATIONS, WAS ABLE TO DO AS WELL AS IT DID WAS DUE IN LARGE PART TO THE SKILL AND PERSONAL MAGNETISM OF ANDY YOUNG AND HIS ABILITY TO CONVEY A SENSE OF POSITIVE CHANGE IN AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD MORAL ISSUES IN GENERAL AND APARTHEID IN PARTICULAR. NEWSMEN, DELEGATES, CHILDREN, AND AFRICANS IN GENERAL FLOCKED TO BE SEEN WITH HIM OR TALK WITH HIM. NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARBA AS CONFERENCE PRESIDENT TREATED PLENARY TO AN UNPRECEDENTED PAEN TO YOUNG AND TO THE TURNAROUND IN AMERICAN POLICY IN AFRICA. AND YOUNG'S-ANDY'S ADDRESS TO THE PLENARY WENT OVER WELL DESPITE SOME EXPRESSION OF REGRET OVER ABSENCE OF INDICATION OF FURTHER US POLICY CHANGES.

7. FOR AN IDEA OF THE SORT OF CRITICISM WHICH COULD HAVE EMERGED HAD RADICALS BEEN IN DRIVER'S SEAT, ONE NEED ONLY LOOK TO EFFORTS OF CONFERENCE COMMISSION WHICH WAS FORTUNATELY POWERLESS FORUM FOR AIRING FRUSTRATIONS OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (SEE REFTEL). THANKS TO CAREFUL NIGERIAN CONTROL OF COMMISSION, ITS REPORT WILL NOT BECOME OFFICIAL CONFERENCE DOCUMENT IN ASSOCIATION WITH CONFERENCE DECLARATION. RATHER IT WILL BE FORWARDED DIRECTLY TO APARTHEID COMMITTEE.

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8. STONG MODERATE NIGERIAN LEADERSHIP DISPLAYED IN CONNECTION WITH REPORT OF CONFERENCE COMMISSION WAS CHARACTERISTIC OF FMG PERFORMANCE DURING CONFERENCE, AS MAJOR PLUS FROM WESTERN POINTS OF VIEW. NIGERIAN WILL AND DIRECTION WAS APPARENT IN THE REASONED AND CONSTRUCTIVE OPENING ADDRESS BY NIGERIAN HEAD OF STATE OBASANJO AS WELL AS IN THE CAUCUS AND BARGAINING SESSIONS IN WHICH NIGERIAN PERM REP HARRIMAN OR CONFERENCE PRESIDENT GARBA REPEATEDLY AND DECISIVELY BEAT BACK EFFORTS BY ARABS TO AND AFRICAN OR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WANTING MORE RADICAL LANGUAGE AND PROPOSALS, IN ONE SESSION OF STEERING COMMITTEE, WHILE DRAFTING OF CONFERENCE DECLARATION WAS UNDERWAY, NIGERIANS WENT SO FAR AS TO TELL ANC AND PAC THAT THERE IS NO REAL WAR FOR LIBERATION UNDERWAY IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THAT LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO GET OFF THEIR HIGH HORSES ON THIS SUBJECT. WITH AN ASSIST FROM TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR SALIM, THE NIGERIAN POSITION CARRIED THE DAY.

9. FROM US STANDPOINT ONE OF MOST POSITIVE ARR SUCCESSFUL

ELEMENTS OF CONFERENCE WAS OUR PRIVATE CONTACTS WITH NIGERIAN LEADERSHIP, PARTICULARLY GENERAL OBASANJO, WHOSE DECISIVENESS GRASP OF ISSUES, AND EVIDENT WILLINGNESS TO EXERT HIMSELF ON BEHALF OF WESTERN PEACE EFFORT IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS IMPRESSIVE. FOR US AND OTHER ONE OF MOST SALIENT RESULTS OF CONFERENCE EVIDENCE OF DEPTH AND IMPORTANCE OF NIGERIA'S COMMITMENT TO USE ITS UNQUESTIONED POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL CLOUT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

10. THE PROFUNDITY OF FEELING, NOT TO SAY RAGE, OVER APARTHEID AMONG AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS WAS CRYSTAL CLEAR AT THIS CONFERENCE. BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AFRICAN OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID IS UNQUALIFIED. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WERE UNABLE TO OBTAIN THE FURTHER SOFTENING OF THE CONFERENCE DECLARATION WHICH WE DESIRED PRECISELY BECAUSE THAT DECLARATION ALREADY REPRESENTS THE CONFIDENTIAL

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LEAST THE AFRICANS COULD ACCEPT. ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, US AND WESTERN ONGOING EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT ENABLED US TO KEEP UP WITHH AND TO SOME EXTENT CONTROL THE POWER CURVE. ON SOUTH AFRICA, INDEPENDENT AFRICA CONTINUES TO LISTEN TO OUR STATEMENTS OF INTENT BUT UNTIL IT IS CONVINCED BY OUR ACTIONS THAT WE ARE AS COMMITTED TO BRINGING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE IN SA AS WE HAVE SHOWN OURSELVES TO BE IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA, OUR PROTESTATIONS OF COMMITMENT WILL BE RECEIVED WITH A GRAIN OF SALT.

MANY AT THE CONFERENCE WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO ACCEPT THE NEW BONA FIDES WE HAVE BEEN OFFERING. BUT REMAINING AFRICAN CRITICISMS OF THE US STANCE ON APARTHEID ARE UNLIKELY TO DIMINISH MUCH FURTHER UNTIL WE ARE PERCEIVED AS ACTUALLY IMPLEMENTING MORE EFFECTIVE ACTIONS TO PROMOTE CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

EASUM.

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER.

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